

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAKAR 8153

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, SF, RH, SG

SUBJECT: SENGHOR COMMENTS ON RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: SENGHOR BELIEVES MUGABE AND NKOMO DO NOT HAVE MAJORITY SUPPORT IN RHODESIA, AND ENDORSES DISCUSSIONS BY SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA WITH IAN SMITH UNDER LATTER'S MOST RECENT TERMS OF REFERENCE. HE DISCOUNTS PROBABLE IMPACT OF ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, AND URGES GRADUATED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, BEGINNING WITH OIL EMBARGO. SENGHOR'S MESSAGE APPEARS TO BE THAT AFRICAN STANCE IN SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT REFLECT ONLY RADICAL VIEWS, BUT THAT OUR DIVERGENT POSITIONS DO NOT NECESSARILY PLACE AFRICA AND THE WEST IN ADVERSARY POSITION. END SUMMARY.

2. PRESIDENT SENGHOR ASKED ME TO SEE HIM FOR A

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CONVERSION ON AFRICAN-RELATED PROBLEMS

DECEMBER 9. ONE OF THE AREAS THAT HE DISCUSSED WAS SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3. ON RHODESIA, HE CRITICIZED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT IAN SMITH'S PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN ONE VOTE. HE SAID

THAT MUGABE AND NKOMO OBVIOUSLY WANT TO HAVE POWER TURNED OVER TO THEM WITHOUT AN ELECTION EVEN THOUGH IT IS CLEAR THEY DO NOT HAVE MAJORITY SUPPORT AMONG THE PEOPLE. "THIS WOULD NOT BE SELF-DETERMINATION," SENGHOR EMPHASIZED.

4. I TOLD SENGHOR THAT THE US AND THE UK ARE IN CONTACT WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA. I ASKED HIM IF HE WOULD ADVISE US TO ENCOURAGE THESE INTERNAL LEADERS TO ENGAGE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH IAN SMITH UNDER THE LATTER'S MOST RECENT TERMS OF REFERENCE. SENGHOR SAID HE WOULD ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENCOURAGE US TO DO THAT. THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION THROUGH FREE ELECTIONS, SENGHOR CONCLUDED.

5. TURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA, PRESIDENT SENGHOR SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD WHAT THE WESTERN POWERS ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE THROUGH A TOTAL BAN ON ARMS SALES TO PRETORIA. "BUT LET'S FACE IT," HE SAID, "AN ARMS EMBARGO WILL HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO IMPACT ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS. THE ONLY WAY SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE WEST MEANS BUSINESS IS TO INSTITUTE GRADUATED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS." AFTER REVIEWING OUR MOST RECENT STATEMENTS AT THE UN AND IN WASHINGTON ON THIS SUBJECT, WHICH SENGHOR CONTINUED TO SAY HE UNDERSTOOD, I ASKED HIM WHAT WOULD THE STARTING POINT BE

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FOR GRADUATED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. HE SAID THE FIRST THING MUST BE AN OIL EMBARGO, AND THAT OF COURSE MUST START WITH IRAN AND THE ARABS. SENGHOR CONCLUDED THIS SEGMENT OF OUR TALK BY SAYING, "I KNOW HOW DELICATE THE PROBLEM OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IS FOR THE WESTERN INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES. IT'S EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH THAN IT IS FOR THE AMERICANS. BUT I JUST WANTED YOU TO KNOW OUR THINKING ON THE SUBJECT."

6. COMMENT: SENGHOR'S STATEMENT ON RHODESIA NEEDS NO INTERPRETATION. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS MODERATE LINE ON MOST AFRICAN ISSUES. SENEGALESE HAVE OPPOSED OAU STEPS TOWARD QUASI-RECOGNITION OF PATRIOTIC FRONT, IN BELIEF THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED AND EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN NATIONAL FACTIONS RATHER THAN ACCORDING FAVORED STATUS TO ONE GROUP. ON THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, I READ SENGHOR'S STATEMENT AS HIS WAY OF TELLING US THAT AFRICAN HANDLING OF THE PROBLEM AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL LAST MONTH DID NOT REFLECT ONLY THE VIEWS OF THE

MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE OAU. AT THE SAME TIME, HE
IS TELLING US THAT OUR DIVERGENT POSITIONS AT THE UN DO
NOT NECESSARILY PLACE AFRICA AND THE WEST IN ADVERSARY
POSITIONS AT THIS TIME, IN SENEGAL'S VIEW.
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